/72 cont./

431 it with gifts, serenely ask: What other thing can and must we
577 poor people do but beg? What should dry earth do but sit up
[123] and open its mouth in demand for water?

Nor will anyone deny that splendid and generous people
● 571 are rare; and in the face of this undeniable fact of miserliness, there is no other remedy than to be beggarly. "A stubborn poor person extracts a crumb of bread." For this reason also the natives often endure punishment and maltreatment, which they did not go looking for (where they beat them they remain) and they go away when they have received their pay, because this is precisely what they came looking for and what they have been working for. And we would be presumptuous in the extreme if, because we pay the Indians, we should want to keep them indefinitely at our side and in our service.

600 156. Wisely did Father Eulogio warn that "the uncivilized Indian does not show gratitude in any way," and this is due to ignorance of our ways of life, our industries, and our business ways.

829 Another missionary, Father Baltasar de Matallana, also
171 says that such Indians "believe that shotguns loaded with shot and powder rained down from heaven on us." Another humorist, an explorer of mines in all the Guianas, assured me that the natives imagined that we were born with money in our pockets, just as they were born with lice in their hair and fleas on their feet.

829 And that is why it turned out to be unproductive, when we
123 brought Indians to Caracas, to take them to the shops and warehouses, since they couldn't understand why, out of so many pieces of cloth, so many ready-made clothes exposed to their avid glances, so many dozens of suitcases, axes, and other tools, not a single meter was ever cut off for them, that nobody ever gave them a garment, nor let them take away what, apparently, was more than enough for the others.

538 157. The old Indians also have the legendary belief that
829 their ancient predecessors, the Makunaimá, extremely able,

/88 cont./

621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

592 192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
621 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
622 gather about him several other families, either in individual houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
● 571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
578 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 [131] The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar, of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they 648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend 643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo [178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

● 571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region 171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general 178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living 621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some to'-esa', or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called to'-epuru'), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in to'-esa', but yakon is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase). This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance, be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[24] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[177] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "necessary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change continues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several, are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact that he is ordinarily also a to'-esa'.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thoroughly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were disobeyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.